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of the Lineage of Takalaua. This delegation of the Tui Tonga's temporal duties probably took place about 1470. It marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Tui Tonga, an eclipse which became total with the death of Laufilitonga in 1865. The Tui Tonga retained the privileges and honors of his exalted position, which gave him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women. After Kauulufonua I, no more is heard of vigorous warrior kings. All military activity seems to have passed into the hands of the subsidiary officers, notably the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu.

Concerning the relations of Kauulufonua I to Samoa, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"In Samoa heisst er Tuitoga Faisautele (grossen Menschenfrass machend). Er heiratete die Vainu'ulasi (gen 18) und zeugte den Fa'aulufanua (IV. C. b. 5, p. 301) und den Ulualofaligā von Fagaloa (flp.). Er heiratete auch die Popoai und Taufaitoa (gen 20 in IV. C. b. 2) und zeugte den Tuiavī'i, Togialelei und Puipuifatu, wahrscheinlich die drei hier folgenden Tuitogā."

Of the three sons of Kauulufonua I mentioned by Krämer only Puipuifatu became king. He did not directly succeed Kauulufonua I, as Vakafuhu intervened. In what relation Vakafuhu stood to Kauulufonua I, I do not know; possibly he was a brother of Kauulufonua I. It is of interest to note that Puipuifatu was half Samoan, as apparently was Kauulufonua II, who according to Krämer was his half brother. Apparently Tongialelei attempted to seize the throne after slaying either his father Kauulufonua I, or his father's successor Vakafuhu. He was opposed in this by Puipuifatu (op. cit., p. 304).

25. Vakafuhu. Concerning Vakafuhu, whom Tongan lists give as the successor of Kauulufonua I, I have no data. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) has the following to say regarding the possible identification of this king in Samoan sources:

"Ein Aloiva'afulu wird in der Vaea-Geschichte (IV. B. c. 12, p. 268) genannt. Auch von Fitiuta auf Manu'a ist ein Va'afulu bekannt (p. 378 gen 18), was um so merkwürdiger ist, als es dort auch einen Tufele giebt. Ein Tofele nämlich kam von Samoa und tötete den Togialelei in Tonga (siehe die Geschichte IV. C. c. 3. p. 304)."

26. Puipuifatu. The twenty-sixth Tui Tonga perhaps married in Samoa (op. cit., p. 296) and perhaps his daughter married there also (op. cit., p. 187). Krämer's information seems to indicate Kauulufonua II, the twenty-seventh king, as also a son of Kauulufonua I, by a Samoan wife (op. cit., pp. 468-469).

27. Kauulufonua II. Krämer attributes to Kauulufonua II (Tuitogafa'aulufanua) a Samoan wife, Taupōimasina, who bore him a daughter Vaetoeifanga (op. cit., p. 86).

28. Tapuosi. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) links with either Tapuosi or Fatafehi (the thirtieth Tui Tonga), a "Tuitoga Tupoufei'a". Referring to Tapuosi, he says:

"Tuitoga Tupoufei'a? (siehe gen 24). Eine Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Oloitoa heiratete um diese Zeit den Tagaloafesulu (gen 22 in III. b. 4. p. 91); auch heiratete um diese Zeit ein Tuitoga die Maupenei, die Tochter des La'ulunofovaleane (III. b. 2. gen 19-20 p. 88). . . . Wahrscheinlich ist dieser [Fatafehi] oder der Tabuooi (gen 22) der Tuitoga Tupoufei'a, welcher die Sapioamoa heiratete (siehe IV. B. b. 4. gen 24 p. 249), die ja der Malietoa-Linie entstammte, an die auch der Name des folgenden Uluaki erinnert. Ulua'i ali'i ist ein in der Malietoa-und Tuiatua-linie vorkommender Name (siehe gen 23)."

The name Tupoufeia should be linked with the Tui Kanokupolu rather than the Tui Tonga, for names with the word Tupou are very common in that family.

29. Uluakimata I (Telea). The tales concerning Uluakimata I (Telea) indicate a life of voluptuous ease, in which contemplation of the beauties of the scenery and of women seem to have been the chief pastimes (26, p. 36). It is recorded that his three wives of high rank brought him, in addition to themselves, two hundred women for his harem. The transportation of huge stone blocks from Uvea to Tongatabu for the construction of his royal tomb is attributed to this king. The freight vessel was the famous *Lomipeau* (Under-the-Waves) reputed to have been built in Uvea, but ultimately buried at Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the rudder of the

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Lomipeau was made into a kava bowl, a part of which was taken in 1918 by a Catholic priest to Uvea, because there the *Lomipeau* was built. The finest terraced stone tomb at Lapaha, Tongatabu, the Paepae o Telea, is the putative resting place of this ruler. According to a modern informant, Telea met death by drowning at sea.

The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott supplied me with the following account of Telea's birth:

"There was a woman pregnant to the Tui Tonga [Tapuosi], and afterwards another woman, Vaenopo, the daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. The gods caused Vaenopo to bring forth first, although her conception was later than that of the other woman. Her child was a boy named Telea, who became the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, whose royal tomb is in Lapaha and is called Paepae o Telea."

30. Fatafehi. Telea was followed on the throne by his son Fatafehi and his daughter the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Both were the offspring of a woman named Mataukipa, one of Telea's three principal wives. (For an interesting anecdote concerning the relations of these three wives, see 26, p. 36.)

31. Kauulufonua III. The son of Fatafehi, Kauulufonua III, was probably the Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643.

32. Uluakimata II. King Uluakimata II had two noted sons, Tui Pulotu I (in Langi Tuofefafa), who became Tui Tonga, and Tokemoana, who was made Tui Haa Uluakimata (Lord of the Lineage of Uluakimata)—an appointment apparently patterned after that of the Tui Haa Takalaua in the reign of Kauulufonua I. The office appears to have languished; the lineage (*haa*) is not among those of modern Tonga.

33. Tui Pulotu I. Tui Pulotu I was buried in the royal tomb called Langi Tuofefafa. His body is said to be buried face downward with his brother Tokemoana, lying face downward on top of him.

34. Fakanaanaa. It is related that Fakanaanaa was the chief who was tattooed with a fruit at Moungaone Island, Haapai, and who when notified by the Falefa (the four ministers of the Tui Tonga) of his prospective elevation to the kingship, was at Ofolanga Island, Haapai. His mother was the daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone and Ofolanga islands—which probably accounts for his presence at Ofolanga.

35. Tui Pulotu II. After Fakanaanaa came his son Tui Pulotu II.

36. Pau. King Pau or Poulaho was ruling when Cook (1773) and Maurelle (1781) visited Tonga. He died about 1784.

37. Maulupekotofa. Pau was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa who died in 1806 during the troublous period of civil wars which began in 1799 (37).

38. Fuanunuiava. Pau's son Fuanunuiava succeeded to the throne shortly after his uncle's death but reigned only until 1810 when he died (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 453).

39. Laufilitonga. The son of Fuanunuiava, Laufilitonga, who was destined to become the thirty-ninth and last ruler of the line, did not assume office until 1827 (39, p. 94).

Besides Cook's vigorous portrayal of Pau, Vason and Mariner have left personal reminiscences of their acquaintance with Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 133) gives an account of the marriage of Fuanunuiava (then about 40 years of age) to Ulukalala's daughter (presumably Popua), aged eighteen.

That the matter of succession after Pau is involved in some obscurity is shown by the conflicting accounts of Labillardière and Wilson, both eighteenth century visitors. The genealogies which I obtained seem to make it clear that Pau was followed by his brother Maulupekotofa and then by his son, Fuanunuiava. According to Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 170),

"When Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] died, he left a son very young, named Futtafaihe [Fuanunuiava]: the King's brother Futtafaihe, [presumably Maulupekotofa], then took the reins of government, but he died shortly after, and the sovereignty passed to Tineh, his eldest sister [presumably the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala IV., the eldest sister of Fuanunuiava, or else the Female Tui Tonga Nanasipauu, the sister of Mau-

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Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle (fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou). As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted."

The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing."

Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted."

The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people.

This prayer may also be uttered:

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leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

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told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

Deities of Nomuka Island

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people.

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

Deities of Uiha Island

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well.

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

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539 Na'e 'oku 'i he faka-lakepa,
Kae 'ou he takotofa.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Kuo taofi e Tonga,
Tuku pe ke mau vaka-mu'a,
Ke vakai ki ai e laula.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Malimali loto he lea,
Fai mu'a ke puli emo anga,
Kae toki tali 'ilo e taha.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.
Si'i manu-siu ene nga,
Tuku pe keu halafekina,
Pe te ne 'iloa hono uhinga?
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.

The place where men work was for me,'
But where they may rest for thee.'
Blow, blow, etc.
Tonga's judgment is given clearly,
Let our boat sail along chiefly,
That all of the fleet may see.
Blow, blow, etc.
My words have they heard gladly,
Hide your ways for none to see,
Till someone replies knowingly.
Blow, blow, etc.
The poor bird seeks his prey wearily,'
Ahead another way I shall be,
Shall he know the way that I flee?
Blow, blow, etc.

Oi tu ke fai pe ke mau,
Fakatotonu hotau faiva,
Ko ha'aku ena faka-vaka-tapu,

Ko ha'ata ena faka-'otu-sia;
Na'e fakaha 'i Fale-'o-valu,
Na'e 'ako pe 'i Mata-hina.
Tuku atu a ma'au ke fa'u,
Tuku atu a ke mou feia.
Na'a ke pehe ko ha 'uta au,
Na'a ke tokua ko ha 'uta kita,
He 'oku te tongia pe e fohe,
He 'oku te 'uli volaki pe,

He koe popoto moe matangi vale,
Telia e Tonga 'oku tafue.
Oi, ho ho 'i he aue.
Angi mai, angi mai, e he,
'Uoi he angi, e he he.

Let our songs be fashioned aright,
Correct what is not to your gree,
Like a chief's boat may I seem in your sight,

Like the storied mounds my glory;'
'Twas shown in the fisherman's bight,
'Twas learnt on the shark-catching reef.
Be it thine the verses to dight,'
You the makers of poems shall be.
In the land, thou saidst, I delight,'
Yea a landsman, thou saidst, verily,
But I take my turn at the steering,
Take my stand at the helm, nothing fearing,
Skill have I when the winds are veering,
For Tonga when dangers are nearing.
Oi, ho ho for the cheering.
Blow, blow *e he*,
O ho for the breeze *e he he*.

Poem of Mamaeaepoto

539 484 505 The following poem is described as a plaint of Mamaeaepoto when he was landed at Falevai, in Vavau Harbor, from the canoes of the chief Ulukalala, who was commencing a voyage from Vavau to Tongatabu. It was customary for a chief's fleet to take a large number of people a short distance, as an honorable escorting of the chief from the home anchorage. Many of these would leave the fleet before being out of the home waters. I have seen young men and women come outside an anchorage on board a boat they wished to honor, and then jump overboard and swim ashore. Mamaeaepoto had thought that he would be of those chosen to make the whole voyage, but found to his chagrin that he was expected to go ashore. He complains that he would not have gone on board at all, but that he was asked to go. He seemed not to blame the chief so much for his discomfiture as ill-wishers who have belittled him. Another account of the origin [837]

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of the poem says that Mamaeaepoto sailed to Tonga, and that during his absence his wife proved unfaithful to him, and that her infidelity is the ground of his complaint, or rather he blames his absence which gave opportunity for attempts against his marriage felicity, an absence which was not through any desire of his own, but because he was asked to go to Tonga, and wished to show proper deference to his chief by obedience. The allusions in the poem seem to fit better the former explanation of its origin, but his wife may have proved unfaithful while he was away from home nevertheless, and while his disappointment at being put ashore may be the main theme, it is possible for there to be allusions also to a domestic mischance. Tongan compositions are full of allusions intelligible only to those who have an intimate knowledge of the circumstances.

Let none hardly judge me,
Neither he who was landed, nor he who sailed.
For 'twas not my wish to go,
There came to me the command
Of Fifita and Ulialangatau[1]
To prepare for a voyage,
This whereon I have come,
Carrying out my wish to show respect.
I thought, my friends,
That I would be a chiefly boat to you,[2]
For to me is gathered much fame.
But it seems forsooth, there were cares, *e;*
Had it not been indeed for your word, *e,*
That I come down to Neiafu that is close, *e,*
And wait at Vaomafana, *e,*
Go by land to Vaofakalava, *e,*
For I am a man skilled [in verse],[3]
As knows yon circle of chiefs.[4]
But 'twas said to thrust me out,
For I'm but a woman in the boat;[5]
Ne'er before have I been thus despised,
Ne'er before forbidden to sail.
Harken now, director and singer,
Fashion us a double canoe.[6]
Her two hulls Hunga and Maninita,
Talau and Teisina the decks,
For mast we shall have Tuungasika,
For deck house Kahifehifa,
The sail is the First Ahoia,
The steer oar the bay Fangakima,
Matoto the crew of the vessel.
We shall sail on a day of pleasure,
And seek Moahengi in Uiha.[7]
For I was landed through anger,
I had done no wrong to be righted.
Then go ye, go ye on your voyage, *e,*[8]
But I, I am left here in shame, *e;*
They said that I was being honored, *e,*
"Stay thou with the chiefs who are staying,
Bend your mind to the care of the country,
And pray that our land be preserved."[9]
When 'tis calm we shall seek the bonito,[10]
Paddle about the outermost islands,[11]
Go ashore at Great Water and Kaho,
For 'tis a sport that speaks to our liking."
Ah, come, tell me thy thought,[12]
Thou stranger that dwellest here;
For the wind was blowing fairly
From the land at Falevai,
At the banyan where we landed,
Left the boats and here returned.
And my pain runs swift
As Fusi puts out to sea,[13]
And the drum beats out a sea song[14]
For sorrow that I am left.
And when Fusimomoho puts out to sea,
Raises the chant of her sea song,
In my poor heart is sudden pang,
The yearning not to stay.
Ho he ho he 'ia.
Ho he ho hiau he 'ia.

Poem of Falepapalangi[1]

This is written against a rival, but there is nothing to show who the rival is. Probably it is Mamaeaepoto.

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deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeaepoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeaepoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeaepoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment.

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeaepoto's hands. The *kuasi* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe.

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work.

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing.

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi ke lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things.

2. The word *lupe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped.

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *takotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry.

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavau, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeaepoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavau.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. Fifita and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala.

2. That you would honor me.

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail.

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem.

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song.

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left benind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

3. *Telae* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

11. Literally, "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

14. It is tapu for a boat to pass to windward of another boat on which there is a greater chief. So Falepapalangi says to his rival that he desires to vaunt himself the greater man of the two.

15. The ending seems abrupt, and possibly there are lines missing.

Page 72. Falepapalangi

1. A woman freshly adorned from her toilet. Mother and new-born are also smeared with turmeric.

2. The opening of the turban allows the fragrance of the oil with which the head is anointed to escape.

3. "Chatter without going a voyage" is equivalent to "Talking about what you have never been to see, so little of a sailor that you would be sick in a pond."

4. This is sarcasm directed at the rival. "We hear the sounds of pleasure and think that the Vavau bard is amusing his fellow countrymen; but no, it turns out to be only the murmuring of the wind in the toa trees."

5. The situation of Fekitetele has evidently been long unknown. There is a fragment of a poem which refers to it as a name only whose position is unknown.

Fekite-tele te mau tala	Fekite-tele we shall tell
Koe'uhi pe hono hingoa	Only because of its name
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.	But it has no position.

6. The homeless Vavauan is the rival, who is living in Tongatabu but has no real standing or home there. It is only by an act of grace that the chiefs of Tongatabu allow him to live with them.

Pages 72-73. A poem of Falepapalangi to Mamaeaepoto

1. Those who sail to Tongatabu, namely, the people of Haapai and Vavau.

2. Gift, the *inasi*, which was a ceremonious, religious offering of the first-fruits to the Tui Tonga, a harvest festival, was also used of the portions into which presentations of food, mats, and the like, are divided. Probably the reference is not to the religious festival, but to the portion of a chief in any ceremony.

3. Houmahaalonu and Anamanu, both in Vavau.

4. A gesture of giving up; renouncing; having no more to do with.

5. Falalatokelau is unidentified but probably is in Vavau, and apparently the meaning of the reference is that Mamaeaepoto has given up singing the praises of Vavau.

6. Toa and *feifai* are trees used in the toilet.

7. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu. Later on in the poem words are used which would make it seem as though the Tui Tonga was the king referred to. At the death of the last Tui Tonga in 1865 these words were formally transferred to the then Tui Kanokupolu, and have continued in his house, that of the reigning family. Even if this piece was composed before that transference, it is possible that courtesy might have allowed of the Tui Kanokupolu's being addressed in the highest terms. Probably it is best not to press the matter too closely but merely to say the king.

8. Mat (*ngafingafi*) is the ordinary cincture of respect in the presence of chiefs. The *fatai*, a creeping plant, seems to have been regarded as especially appropriate to men who had just come from the sea. Evidently the meaning here is that the king told Falepapalangi to dress himself in readiness to perform before him.

9. Falepapalangi represents himself as sitting on the deck of the windward canoe and hearing, perhaps from the deck of the larger canoe, the songs and conversation, and finds that he himself, or his poem, is being criticized, presumably in a composition of Mamaeaepoto.

10. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto would better compose a poem about Kafoa and leave him alone.

11. The gull (*tala*) is the poet himself, ranging for subjects, and lighting on some beautiful headland.

12. The simile, a beach where boats put in from all quarters, denotes that he is a meeting-place of many excellences, or a poet to whom many people resort, or a poet to whom many subjects furnish inspiration.

13. The meaning of this last part of the poem "I don't care what you do with my poetry; take it anywhere, to Akana (in Samoa, Aana), Tamatuitala (unidentified

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

down until a natural plane of lateral cleavage was reached. Wooden poles were then used as levers to lift the loose slab from its bed, and other poles were slipped under the slab across the cavity formed by the removal of the stone. Skid poles were placed transversely across the path over which the stone was destined to move, and the slab was started on its way to the building site by means of tug-ropes and unstinted cooperative man power. Levers were used at places where progress became exceptionally difficult. The process of hauling stones overland over skidways was called *makafunualoto;* the officer in charge was called *mailau.* A quarry site on Lifuka Island, Haapai, is shown in Plate I.

TRANSPORTATION OF STONE

Stone structures were found on islands where no quarries could be located, and stone quarries on islands where there are no stone structures. That large stones were carried over considerable water distances is evidenced by the fact that no stone structures, aside from one small burial cist, was found on Motutapu or on any neighboring island closer than Tongatabu, whereas stones 6 feet wide and 10 feet long have been removed from the Motutapu quarries.

Living informants give the following account, remembered from the testimony of the preceding generation, of how stones were taken from one island to another:

> The boats, at first the *tungiaki* and later the *kalia,* were large double-hulled sailing vessels, bridged with spacious decks, quite capable of carrying heavy loads. The vessel was brought as near to the shore as possible without running the risk of grounding, and there anchored to stakes set up on the shore. The anchoring place was usually at the very edge of a coral shelf, extending outward from the main shoreline, which was submerged at high tide and comparatively dry at low tide. The stone was dragged over skids to the edge of this coral shelf. Heavy wooden poles were then placed each with one end on the deck of the vessel and the other end crossing the abrupt edge of the coral shelf. These served as skids over which the stone was dragged onto the deck, where it was carefully adjusted and balanced, then tied by many ropes radiating from the stone to various parts of the vessel. In removing the stone from the vessel the reverse order was used. Some of the smaller stones were carried by groups of men, selected for their great strength, who placed the stones on the decks of the vessels without the aid of skids.

Certain traditions credit a large vessel named *Lomipeau* with bringing stones to Tongatabu from Uvea (Wallis) Island, for use in the construction of Telea's tomb, *Paepaotelea* (p. 51). The boat is described as being so large that its hulls passed on either side of the island of Hungatonga, while the deck swept over the tops of the trees. As all the stones in Telea's tomb are coral limestone whereas Uvea is a volcanic island, it seems that the only possible element of truth in this legend is that some of the stones used in the structure may have been brought from other islands.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. Human life is more valuable than any boat. 539 502 [181]

252. Hange ha fana fotu: Like a mast that shows up. 539 501

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua: Like pouring oil on a rough sea. 539 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu: Safe from the hurricane but sunk in the calm. 539 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. Kanakana fai ki tahi: Eating carried out at sea. 539 264 505 571

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus there will be the more left for himself.

256. Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama: If it had been that I had acted *hama* fashion. 539 501 461

The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia: Eating a leak with seas coming on board. 539 505 264

Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 505 **258. Kehe a Tonga nae folaua kae kitenoa ai a Eua:** It was Tonga to which the voyage was being made and the appearance of Eua was of no account.

When boats are making for Tongatabu the high island of Eua shows up before the mainland is seen, but although Eua appears yet it is Tongatabu to which the boat is sailing and where she finally anchors. When one is in pursuit of some object the turning up of other things is a mere incident. This seems to be confined in its application to the case of a woman who falsely supposes that visits are being paid by a man to her when in reality they are paid to another lady living in the same place. The close association into which the lover is brought with the second girl is a mere incident of his courtship of the first.

539 584

539 502 **259. Ki ama tae alomua:** "To leeward" without being the man in the bow.

When two or more men are paddling the native canoe it is the duty of the foremost to give sailing directions, typified by "*ki ama*," "towards the outrigger or leeward canoe." Anyone who was not the bow man, and yet presumed to give instructions to the crew, would fall under the rebuke of this expression.

539 505 183 **260. Kite faka-fonua mounga:** In sight like mountainous country.

A mountain appears to the ship far out at sea but it is a long time before it is reached. A thing that appears but it is in reality far off and takes long to reach.

261. Koe mata mama: The chief leak.

In a boat which has filled and sunk there may be little leaks which in themselves would not have caused the disaster, but there is one big leak which is the real cause of the trouble. Generally of that which has been the fundamental reason of catastrophe.

539 502 571 **262. Laukau he tauala oe jiana kehe:** To be proud of another chap's coming up to the wind.

A metaphor from navigation, *tauala* being to luff up into the wind. Employed of the useless pride of one man in the achievements of another with which he himself has had nothing to do.

539 501 **263. Limua ae vaka:** The boat is covered with seaweed; that is, the boat has been neglected and left in the sea without use or without being hauled up for cleaning.

Applied to that which is suffering from long neglect and disuse, in the same way as we say in English that a thing is rusty.

539 505 **264. Lujia ki taulanga:** Weather-beaten to harbor.

The vessel although storm-tossed and battered has at length made port safely.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

285. Toki tau ae vaka e: 539 505

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail. 539 504 461

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support. 539 501 183

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat. 539 502 829

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders. 539 505 482

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat. 539 571 521

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day. 539 821

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 [779] **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 [873] **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountainous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 261 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 0U9 Tonga 0U9

175 501 directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar; 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform above the roof.

501 [538] It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

501 502 [484] The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) remarks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

> . . . to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian with Melanesian blood.

501 505 According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haamonga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tongatabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott and Havea (1922. p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson [175] (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received from the "Futtafaihe".

Kalia

175 177 501 [171] [484] Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the *tongiaki* was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

501 the space between the central log and the original two lateral ones would be filled in. The timber used in construction may have been that of the breadfruit tree (*mei*). Havea says that these rafts had some sort of a raised platform on which the crew and passengers sat. They were propelled by paddles, or sometimes by [505] means of a sail. According to some of the old people these rafts were used even for journeys between Tonga and Samoa; they also held that it was by rafts and not by double canoes that the huge sepulchral monoliths required in the building of the royal langis were transported.

The Prince Consort, when discussing this subject with me, confirmed the statement that rafts were formerly in use in Tonga; his grandfather, King George I, had assured him that rafts were the first sea craft used in Tonga. His description, however, was that they were formed out of two great bundles of bamboos, held apart and connected by several cross spars (*kiato*).

[171] Havea's account of this raft, after making due allowance for inaccuracies in detail in a description furnished by a person who had never seen the object he describes, points definitely to the former existence of a Tongan sea craft akin to or possibly identical with the sailing catamaran of Mangareva figured and described by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, p. 105) and closely related to the large river rafts still in active use in Fiji. The specific statement that it was used to maintain intercourse with Samoa is particularly interesting in view of the old Samoan myth, mentioned elsewhere, which claims that rafts were in use there prior to the introduction of canoes.

The variations found in the several accounts make it clear, however, that tradition cannot be relied upon for details; all that can be reasonably certain is that rafts were in use at an early period in the history of these islands and that they were probably employed in interisland communication.

NIUE

000 Niue, named "Savage Island" by Cook, owing to the fierce hostility of the natives on the occasion of his landing in 1774, is about 30 miles in circumference. It is relatively populous, for the soil is fertile and flying fishes abound in the sea. Owing to the absence of any lagoon, the fringing reef surrounding it makes it impossible to use canoes of a size larger than can be hauled to land over the reef in rough weather. For what the Niue canoes lack in size, their numbers compensate; on every dark night the torches of little fleets of canoes spangle the sea off the leeward coast with dancing lights.

OUTRIGGER CANOES

Cook (1777) describes the canoes which he saw as

> . . . precisely like those of Amsterdam Island [Tongatabu], with the addition of a little rising on each side of the open part; and [they] had some carving about them, which showed that these people are full as ingenious. Both these islanders and their canoes agree very well with the description M. de Bougainville has given of those he saw off the Isles of Navigators [Samoa], which lie nearly under the same meridian.

The only canoes the islanders now possess are dugout fishing outriggers of small size. The largest, which accommodate four persons (*vaka heke fa*), do not exceed 25 feet in length, with a depth of 18 to 24 inches; the majority, paddled by one man, and with room for not more than two, are much smaller, ranging from 17 to 20 feet long (fig. 194). Formerly six-seated canoes (*vaka heke ono*) were built, but these were rare (Loeb, 1926, p. 91).

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

blow at the time of, or immediately after, heavy rains when the ground is soft and consequently the roots of the trees have little grip in the muddy, yielding soil.

THE VILLAGE

Pangai village is a relatively self-contained economic unit. The villagers look upon their village as their chief source of satisfaction for both work and play. There is, of course, continual coming and going between Pangai and other nearby villages. On the half dozen times each year when the banana and tourist boat calls at Neiafu (population in 1931, 1610 people), many Pangai people, men mostly, congregate in Neiafu to see the sights and to gossip with relatives and friends from other villages. Each year a few youths from the village go off to school in Nukualofa, capital and chief port of the Kingdom on distant Tongatapu, 170 miles to the south. They travel by small motor vessel or more hazardous cutter. Sometimes they return to Pangai for the annual vacation. Often they stay with relatives in Tongatapu until their schooling is finished. Adults rarely make the journey to Tongatapu. For the most part they stay in the village, relieving monotony by occasional visits to Neiafu.

The map of Pangai village (Fig. 2)[A] sketches the lay-out of house-lots which together take up an area of about 20 acres. There are four church buildings. One of these is of European, church-like form; another is a small simple four-square board structure; the remaining two are Tongan-style architecture. The school-house is a small frame building, bare inside and out. The children sit on the floor. The community bark-cloth-making house stands next to the school-house. It is a larger frame building that stands empty and unused most of the year. The two stores are again small frame buildings with large copra-drying platforms and small copra storehouses alongside.

The style of house common in the village is also indicated on Figure 2. Of the 50 dwelling houses, 36 or 72 per cent. are Tongan style, 14 or 28 per cent. are European frame houses with iron roofs. Most of the Tongan style houses are built according to old-time native practice with coconut-sheet wall-screens and coconut mat thatching. A

A. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

IV.

HOW I FARED AT COURT.

645 AT length, on August 27, Fatafehi's schooner the Malokula
505 was declared ready for sea, and I embarked with Tukuaho,
(552) Fatafehi, and Chief Clerk Mataka. The vessel was unpleasantly crowded with old women, whose prostrate bodies made the traverse of the deck at night impossible. At sunset we passed Malinoa, where lay the four men who were shot after the attempt on Mr Baker's life. Thence, clear of reefs, we stood on with a fair wind through the night until we could see the glare of the volcano of Tofua, then in eruption. After a fruitless attempt to capture a pig at Haafeva, which wasted a precious hour, we dropped anchor at Lifuka at nearly
133 noon. We were on the lee side of a low narrow island, nowhere more than thirty feet above high-water mark, but covered with grass and cocoa-nuts to the water's edge. Other islands of the same kind stretched away to the
361 north and south of us. The town was a mere row of iron-
347 roofed stores on the beach: behind them could be seen
351 the usual native huts dotted about among the trees, with grass growing right up to the doors, and horses tethered here and there between them.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

by Parliament as being in league with the traders, and by the traders as being guilty of the blackest duplicity. The Chamber of Commerce, indeed, with its dying breath demanded from me why the Government, so ignominiously beaten on so vital a point as the import duty on kerosene, had not at once tendered their resignation.

The shipping laws were more intelligible to the House. Many of them, as the owners or masters of small craft, had had a bitter experience of the law regarding coasting licences, and a strong party were in favour of exempting craft owned by Tongans and used only as yachts from the coasting dues paid by steamers and vessels plying for hire. But the majority were against enacting anything that might be cast up against them as one-sided legislation.

Hansard, meanwhile, was growing to unmanageable dimensions. The clerks took down every speech in shorthand, and sat up till daylight night after night transcribing their notes. Not the smallest spoken word passed unrecorded. It was time for a brief holiday, for the sick-list was heavy; and many noblemen who could take the air in native attire could not attend the House until their feet had sufficiently recovered to encounter again the penalties attaching to boots. The Speaker announced a three days' holiday, and added that by special arrangement the Government medical officer would prescribe gratis for all members in need of medical treatment. During the morning a dense crowd of legislators besieged the dispensary. Within was the newly arrived doctor, heated and gesticulating, trying to drive back the mob of senators, who were all striving to describe in

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Taking twenty years as the average reign of a Tui Kanokubolu before 1777 (for the short duration of reigns during the past century was owing to the incessant civil wars that followed the murder of Tukuaho), the date of Ngata's assumption of the title would be about 1610. 175 643

The Tui Kanokubolu was not strictly a hereditary office, like that of the Tui Tonga. None but a member of the reigning family could succeed, and a custom seems to have grown up of choosing the successor alternately from the families of the Tui Haatakalaua and the Tui Kanokubolu; but it was always open to the principal chiefs, who formed the electoral college, to reject any aspirant to office who was physically, mentally, or morally unfit to reign. Two conditions weighed with them—the dying wishes of the late king, and the relative power and popularity of the candidates. The election took place immediately after the funeral ceremonies, when the entire nation was assembled; and the election of the most influential chief was a guarantee against civil disorder.

Considering the primitive character of the canoes and their ignorance of navigation, the geographical knowledge of the Tongans was already wide at this remote date. 505 175 484 Their canoes must have often been carried out of their course to Fiji, which lies only 400 miles direct to leeward. That they made voyages to and from Samoa in the sixteenth century is shown by the fact that Ngata's mother was a woman of Upolu in Samoa; and the pursuit of his father's assassins by Kau-ulu-fonua shows that they knew of the existence of the Niuas, Uvea, and Futuna, as early as the sixteenth century. A very ancient saga describing the customs of one of the Line Islands indicates that they were visited at a very remote date. Colonies of Tongans

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

505 175 484 are known to have settled in Mangaia to the eastward, and in Ongtong Java to the westward,—castaways, per-

[501]

The Tongiaki,[1] *the canoe, now obsolete, in which the early voyages of the Tongans were made.* (From a plate in the British Museum.)

haps, who fought their way into the possession of lands belonging to the aborigines.

II.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS.

175 177 Under a strong central Government, knowing nothing of civil disturbances, never called upon to repel invasions from without, the people had time to digest the new in-

[1] Unlike the Fijian canoe, the *Tongiaki* had a fixed bow, and went about like the modern cutter. In tacking, the sail was unlaced from the yards and carried to leeward of the mast. It was entirely displaced by the more complicated *Ndrua* of Fiji about the beginning of this century. Both Schouten and Captain Cook give detailed descriptions, and I have an excellent model built for me under King George's directions.

[177]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 177 609 643 782 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans, then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped to engender.

175 178 721 It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should, twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt a change? Native traditionary history supplies the answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan character.

175 177 178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga [144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a [171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm [313] [505] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

and it was not until the eighteenth century that any but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after joining one or other of the local chiefs in war, and gaining him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger craft, built of *vesi* from Kambara, and returned to their own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education, just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour" was considered essential to the training of an English gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish habits and strange wares, which were admired because they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise the Tongan of to-day to hear that his fathers looked up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics of his neighbours at something less than their proper

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865. OU9 Tonga OU9

249 inducement to cultivate the *To* to any great extent. When they have attained this knowledge, they will readily find an open market in the Australasian Colonies for all that they can produce; and thus another source of national prosperity will be opened up which at present lies undeveloped.

245 [137] [643] The coffee plant was introduced only a few years since, (1852,) and has succeeded well. The plant grows rapidly, and bears profusely. The beans are large, and of good quality. King George himself has devoted considerable attention to its cultivation, and, in due time, it also will become a valuable addition to the exports of the land.

245 435 177 The natives, we may here remark, do not fail to magnify, in an extraordinary manner, the value of anything new that may be recommended for cultivation, either by Missionaries or other foreigners. They seem to fancy that whatever the white man likes, and pays attention to, must be "*koloa lahi*," great riches. Even coffee beans have awakened mysterious notions of value, in some native minds, as the following incident will show. A woman

245 435 439 [505] belonging to the island of Haano, in Haabai, came from thence to Lifuka, a distance by sea of about twenty miles, in a small canoe, for the sole purpose of bartering at our Mission station, what she thought was a very valuable thing. Presenting herself before us, she took from her bosom a small piece of white native cloth carefully tied up and tightly knotted. Thinking, from the appearance of the package, and the manner of the woman, that she had brought some pearls for sale, we desired her to show them. With due deliberation, the package was unfolded, when, behold, it displayed just half-a-dozen coffee-beans! It would

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Tobutabu]

It is, nevertheless, remarkable that, even before that time, the people of Niua Tobutabu were exceedingly anxious to spread the religion which they themselves had just received. They longed to carry the glad tidings to their neighbours and friends of Niua Foöu. Above ninety miles of ocean, noted for its storms and heavy seas, rolled between them, where many a canoe had perished while attempting to make for either shore. But the restless desire grew stronger and stronger; and, finally, the necessary arrangements were made for a Missionary visit to the island in question. Two canoes were prepared, and manned by about one hundred and fifty persons. The expedition was headed by the King of Niua Tobutabu, and it was accompanied by a teacher from Vavau. The distance ought, under ordinary circumstances, to have been run in a single day; but, shortly after starting, the winds became adverse and tempestuous, and for six days the canoes were driven hither and thither. Niua Foöu had been sighted for several days, but could not be reached. The storm, meantime, increased in fury. The sea ran mountains high; and, at last, one of the canoes was overwhelmed, and foundered. It contained about one hundred persons, of whom seventy were drowned, the others being rescued by the second canoe. Among those who perished was the Vavau teacher. His body was afterwards washed on shore, and when found, his hand still grasped, in the rigour of death, a bundle of Scripture Books, from which he was not parted even in his watery grave. We may well believe that, by the precious truths he was so anxious to carry to others, he himself was strengthened in the hour of awful calamity and death.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 The Great Master did not permit him to accomplish his loving intention, but the reward of his charity and sacrifice would not be the less glorious on that account.

797 505 484 648 Undismayed by this sad event, the king and people of Niua Tobutabu, at a subsequent period, undertook a similar expedition to the island of Uvea; an island still more distant from them than Niua Foöu, but with whose king and people the Niua Tobutabuans had domestic and political relationships. Their voyage thither was made in safety, but it terminated in still greater disasters than had befallen the former. The ruling chief of Uvea could not brook the advice tendered him by his friendly visitor; and, perhaps, the latter, notwithstanding the purity of his motives, was not discreet and prudent in his measures and movements. It is probable, too, that the chief of Uvea had cast an evil eye upon the queen of Niua Tobutabu, who had accompanied her husband Gogo. Be this as it may, occasion for a quarrel was sought, when the Uveans suddenly rose upon their visitors, mercilessly slaying the king, with nearly the whole of his crew of forty-five men. The women were all spared, but only to meet a more ignominious fate. The wife of the murdered king was commanded to join the seraglio of the Uvean chief, but this she positively refused to do; and, to escape from his vengeance, she ran off into the bush, where she hid herself for two months, subsisting upon roots and such edibles as she could obtain from around her place of concealment. She was discovered by a Tonga man, at the end of the time specified. She was greatly emaciated by hunger and exposure, and was apparently in a dying condition. While in this state

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Tobutabu]

she was visited by her cruel persecutor, and commanded to eat, under pain of instant death. Food was forced upon her, and after a time she partially recovered, when the foul savage repeated his base proposals. She was proof against all his threats. The narrative of the subsequent sufferings and escape of this high-minded woman, form a romance in real life such as is not often met with. She ultimately escaped in the time of her greatest peril, by means of a Vavau canoe, which was providentially drifted to Uvea by stress of weather. The crew taking compassion on her case, by a clever stratagem carried her off in safety, and conveyed her to her own land.*

We reserve for another place the account of a still more recent visit to Uvea undertaken by the successor of the murdered king of Niua Tobutabu, in which he also, and his followers, narrowly escaped a similar fate. It will be enough to say here, that amidst all these sources of alarm and depression, the work of God prospered in Niua Tobutabu itself, under the care of the native teachers, with the occasional and brief visits of the Missionaries.

NIUA FOÖU.—In the year 1832, the "glad tidings of great joy" first reached this island in a very remarkable manner. Ulukalala, the king of Vavau, having projected a voyage to Niua Tobutabu, on political and domestic business, was accompanied thither by the Rev. Mr. Cross, then one of the resident Missionaries in Vavau, who gladly hailed the opportunity thus presented, of preaching Christ in the "regions beyond." When the objects of the visit were accomplished, seven canoes in all prepared to sail for Haafuluhao. Of this

* "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," p. 276.

797 648 797 505 484 (113)

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Foou]

797 505 484

number, however, only four actually started. The others, chiefly manned by heathens and natives of Niua Tobutabu, were either deterred by the threatening appearances of the weather, or by superstitious fears. The voyage proved disastrous in the extreme. One canoe was lost, with its crew of between sixty and seventy persons. Another, commanded by the Niua chief, was driven away to Fiji; the third, having on board Ulukalala and Mr. Cross, with immense difficulty and risk reached the islands of Haabai; while the fourth, filled with Vavauans, after many days of toil and extreme peril, sighted the island of Niua Foöu. The coast was known to be extremely rugged, and they were fully aware of the fierce character of the inhabitants. They knew that if the canoe should be wrecked in making for the shore, the people would not fail to fall upon them, according to the widespread custom of Polynesia; and that after having destroyed them, they would take possession of whatever might be saved from the wreck itself. They were not surprised, therefore, upon nearing the land, to see numbers of armed men clustering upon the rocks, ready to resist their landing. The Vavauans, however, being well supplied with muskets and ammunition, determined upon making a grand and formidable demonstration by firing several vollies of blank cartridges. Before this display the ruder Niua Foöuans fled away in terror, leaving the coast clear for the visitors to effect a landing in safety. They might have followed up their advantage in a less bloodless manner, but the power of the Gospel was already sufficient to restrain the former passions of these half-enlightened men. When the people of Niua Foöu

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22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

each being met separately. This over, I obtained an interval for refreshment, and then preached, until a little after the sun had set gloriously in the western sky. Even his last departing rays fell brightly over the sweep of ocean full in view of the congregation, giving peculiar beauty and solemnity to the scene. After service, returned to Uiha, where I held an evening prayer-meeting, at which a numerous company was present.

Monday, 4th.—Assembled the children's school at sunrise, and examined the little ones in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Very small advance has been made, as yet, in the two latter branches. After this, married several couples. Breakfast over, met the members of Society. There being no fewer than twenty classes, I was occupied in this duty until one o'clock P.M. At half past one P.M. sailed to Felemea, where I examined the children's school, and then departed for Lifuka at four P.M. The wind, however, was strong, and against us. We did not, therefore, get even to the nearest point of Lifuka, until about ten P.M. We were threading our way among the most dangerous reefs during about four hours in the dark.

Tuesday, 5th.—A fleet of eight large *kalias* has arrived from Vavau, and seven more are yet to come. These, with a fleet of the same description from Haabai, are on the way to Tongatabu, carrying the voyagers to the marriage of King George's adopted daughter to Tugi, the chief of Mua, who was converted to Christianity twelve months ago.

13th.—The Rev. George Daniel, with Mrs. Daniel, and their two children, embarked this morning at Foa, in a small schooner of nineteen

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A life in harmony with the sea demands the mastery of boat-related skills. This young seaman named Mataele repairs a boat in Ha'ano, an island in Ha'apai which still depends mainly on small boat transportation for communication with the rest of Tonga and with the world.

'Oku mahu'inga foki 'i he mo'ui ki tahi 'a e poto 'i he ngaahi me'a fekau'aki mo e folau. Ko e ki'i talavou eni ko Mataele 'oku ne monomono ha vaka 'i Ha'ano, 'a e motu koia 'i he 'otu Ha'apai.

[p.5-C]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C.Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

More modern sea-going vessels, including a government inter-island ferry and freighters, have replaced the early double canoes. This 1952 photo shows a sloop bringing a mother and her sick child from the island of Tafahi to a little hospital on Niuatoputapu in northern Tonga.

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[355]
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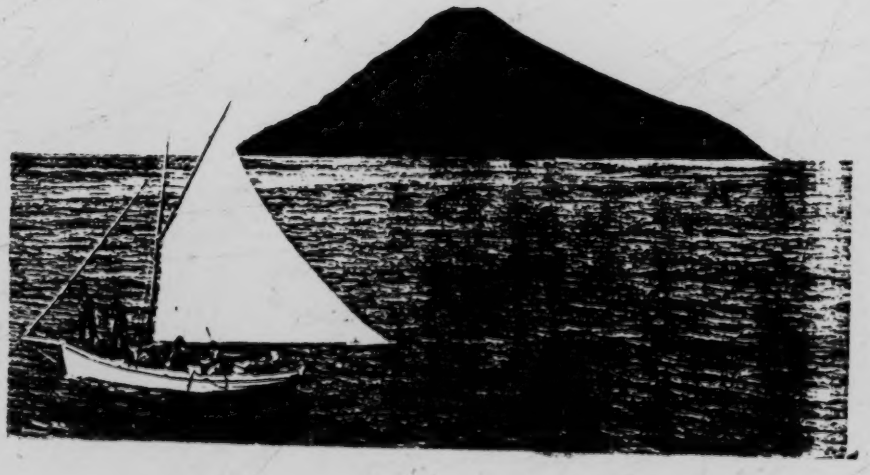
Kuo lahi ene he taimi ni e ngaahi vaka lalahi fakamisini 'oku ngaue'aki 'i Tonga, pea 'ikai toe ngaue'aki ai e ngaahi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua 'o ono'aho. Ko e ta'eni na'e fai he 1952 'o ha vaka la lolotonga 'a 'ene 'ave ha fine'eiki mo 'ene ki'i tamasi'i valevale na'e puke ki he falemahaki 'i Niuatoputapu.

[p. 6]



opportunities within the Kingdom, and will help Tonga to become as economically self-sufficient as possible. Meanwhile, with a modest budget, she is also striving to improve educational and medical facilities and domestic social conditions.

Internal air-service is now functioning within the Kingdom, and plans for an airstrip to land international jets are being materialized; Tonga also intends to establish her own airline, called "Friendly Islands Air." These things, in addition to expanding international and local cargo and passenger shipping services, will hopefully serve to improve Tonga's communications and relations with the world, and

[A 55-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

509 will facilitate travel to and from Tonga for residents
505 and visitors.
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179 The recent establishment of Tonga's first
[453] commercial bank, the "Bank of Tonga," with its modern banking and checking account system, loan service, and increased interest rates, is intended to further the economic growth of Tonga. Limited
179 foreign aid is being received from New Zealand, U.K.,
648 Australia, U.S.A., Japan, Canada, India and other countries. But like all developing nations in the Pacific today, Tonga is concerned with *autonomous development*, and it is in this interest only – not to become the pawn of a major power – that she seeks

[p. 55-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 598]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

POPULATION CHANGES IN TONGA:

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND MODERN COMMENTARY

A. C. WALSH

IN common with other Pacific peoples, many Tongans are now finding that the attractions of the main island and capital town far outweigh the often declining attractions of the islands of their birth. Population pressure, limited or unevenly developed resources, and new demands for money have induced many Tongans to resettle where the prospects seem more tolerable. As a consequence, the demographic importance of the different islands and settlements relative to one another is changing. This much is widely known, but it is sometimes seen as a phenomenon peculiar to recent years, although evidence is available to indicate that population movement is no new thing in the Pacific.

Tongans have long been amongst the most mobile of the peoples of the central Pacific. At varying times in the prehistory of the area, the Tongan *tu'i tonga*[1] claimed suzerainty over and tribute from Futuna and Wallis, the Lau group, Rotuma, and parts of the main islands of Samoa and Fiji. In the contact period over 3,000 Tongans were engaged in the Fijian wars from which Cakobau emerged victorious, while later others were engaged in missionary endeavours as far away as the Solomons. This early mobility, both beyond but more especially within the group, was no doubt encouraged by Tonga's physical geography.[2] Its high, long western chain of volcanic

[1] The oldest and most important of three lines of kings, a sacred kingship dating from at least the tenth century.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

islands, from 'Ata in the south to Niuafo'ou some 500 miles to the north, served as navigation "beacons" which lit up and signposted the vast ocean highway, making deliberate contact between parts of the group a not uncommon happening from very early times. This, in turn, encouraged cultural homogeneity and the emergence of a central political authority in the eastern more densely settled, low coral islands running parallel to the volcanic chain. A high degree of social stratification and strong dynastic rule uniting the islands can be traced back to the tenth century, and this continued without interruption for several centuries. Although the main groups of islands, Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu, had in practice become separate political entities by the time of European discovery, this is unlikely to have diminished the contact among them. In the disturbances which followed discovery the whole group was plunged into sporadic civil war (1799-1826) in which it is estimated that a quarter of the population died, and peace and unity were not really restored until 1852. Warfare, introduced diseases, and new political and missionary activities had effects on population numbers, distribution and settlement patterns no whit less dramatic than the pressure of the present day. The pace, direction and character of population movement may have changed, but movement and change are in themselves not new phenomena in Tonga.

DISPERSED AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS

Today's typical settlement consists of an assortment of houses set on two-fifths of an acre allotments (*'api kolo*) sited close to the sea on the sheltered side, and some distance inland on the weather side, of an island. The settlement is nucleated, its boundaries marked by a graveyard, sometimes by an *ā kolo* or village fence, and always by a clear transition in land use: the residential village gives way to cultivated *'api tukuhau* or tax allotments, usually of 8¼ acres to which all male taxpayers over 16 years are theoretically entitled. Apart from the towns of Neiafu in Vava'u, Pangai-Hihifo in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa and nearby industrial Havelu Loto in Tongatapu, there are few differences, except in size, in form or function among villages anywhere in the group. Some, with population growth, have expanded and joined to form one continuous settlement, but even then the component parts have retained their separate identity and, with this, the characteristics of the small village.

This pattern is of relatively recent origin, for the first European explorers to visit Tonga recorded no villages as such. Tasman, who first discovered the islands in 1643, observed that "every man lived in his own gardens, the allotments being separated by reed fences."[3] Cook,

[3] Cited by Kennedy (1958): 162.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

161 population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since
162 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear
166 heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and
361 practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

554 511 505 207 447 423 435 132 245 Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently, the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa; overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained 127 101 no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

655 [17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

161 increased by 36.2%, the increase was not uniform throughout
162 the islands. On the contrary, there was an absolute decrease in population on nine islands, and only two islands of more than one square mile in area had an increase in population of more than 20% over the figure for 1956. These are the islands of Tongatapu and 'Eua.

131 'Eua is a large island a few miles to the south-east
133 of Tongatapu. Because of intervening reefs, it can be
[505] reached only by a roundabout passage after a very rough
[313] sea-voyage of about five hours. The island rises in a series of rocky terraces to about 1,000 feet above sea level, with steep valleys that are the major source of timber in Tonga, leaving relatively little land suitable for cultivation. For these reasons, the island is not very attractive
161 for settlement. At the time of the census of 1939, the
162 population of 'Eua was only 480. After a volcanic eruption
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[731] on the northernmost island of Niuafo'ou in 1946, many of the people of that island were settled on 'Eua; at the census of 1956, more than 40% of the population of 'Eua over the age of nine had been born on Niuafo'ou. Besides this Niuafo'ou influx, the increase in the population of 'Eua is accounted for largely by migration from other islands,
161 especially by men seeking land. Even so, with an intercensal
162 population increase of 76.2%, the density of population on 'Eua in 1966 was only 100 per square mile, almost the lowest
[133] of any island in Tonga. Moreover, while there is still some

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

that had fewer than three hundred people.) Furthermore, the factor of size of population may be of only minor significance. Admittedly, there is likely to be more heterogeneity in large villages, simply as a function of their having more people. However, accounts of villages that have fewer than three hundred people suggest that the structure of these villages and their relation to other units of structure may be very similar to that of Motulahi (Aoyagi 1966, Beaglehole 1941, Morton 1972). And even in these small villages there may be considerably diversity.

While Motulahi is not necessarily very different from smaller villages, it may be significantly different from villages that are remote from urban influences. While it is in no sense a suburb of Nuku'alofa, there is very easy access to town via the many buses and trucks which ply the main roads that run east and west on Tongatapu and converge on Nuku'alofa. On the other hand, there is fairly easy access to town from virtually all the villages on Tongatapu (see Map 3). The same is largely true on the island of Vava'u, although public transportation is less well developed there. The contrast in this respect, therefore, is with the isolated village-islands elsewhere in Tonga. There is fairly easy small-boat sailing within the island clusters in good weather, but the weather is not always good. Larger vessels appear only at irregular and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

unpredictable intervals, leaving these islands isolated for many weeks at a time and their people more independent of money and markets than people living on the bigger islands. At the time of the census of 1966 there were 27 islands that had a population of less than one thousand people; these islands comprised just under 10% of the total population of Tonga. Although I was not in a position to investigate it, these village-islands may be different in their political structure from villages that are not isolated from urban centers and from other villages. Certainly, the look of these village-islands reflects a simpler material standard of living than villages on Tongatapu, and this is related to the fact that there is less involvement in the cash economy. It should be noted, however, that the village is probably not a significant unit of variation with respect to the degree of conservativeness of the people living there, for--as we shall see in later chapters--villages as such are not significant units of organization. In this regard it is interesting to note that Belshaw makes a similar point about villages in Fiji:

> However important the village is in sentiment and ceremony, and however conservative Fijians may be with respect to the varieties of cultural expression reflected in villages, villages themselves are not the basis of social or economic variation. The notion that this village is progressive, whereas that is conservative, is too simple an explanation of differences in adjustment that may be evident (1964: 35).

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath, matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage. The number of people, amongst which are always several women, being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers themselves join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1] and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell, but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others

[1] Tou, not the *Malachia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem
104 to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'lóà	A chief man
Tamaë'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
[201] authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to
acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always
express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with
their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
[509] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance
may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
721 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants
sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and
carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded
from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the un-
natural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
[266] This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who
[829] mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same
custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee
apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish
with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their
Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
177 seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately
231 known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which
171 abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
304 when Captn Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
563 Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We
have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black
and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe
hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other
isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps
as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to
exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge
from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and
spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which
is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa; tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance of human cremation and cannibalism.

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes.

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa.

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu, small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came. Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen.

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

than the way in which they noose sharks; instances of sharks attacking natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-tortoise, now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to have been left by Captain Cook; it has been scarred by bush-fires and other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila.

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus, but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available.

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of banyan; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries; Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times.

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred tax-payers have no allotments; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

£4,556 ; timber £4,430 ; sugar £4,208 ; benzine £4,082 ; kerosene £3,310 ; galvanized iron and manufactures £3,043 ; biscuits £2,841 ; machinery £1,747 ; rope £1,230. 439

The chief country from which goods are imported is New Zealand. Its proximity and the steamer communication give New Zealand an advantage over Australia, whose trade with Tonga has slightly fallen off. Trade with Japan is increasing, as a result of the operations of a Japanese firm. The bulk of the trade, however, is still in the hands of British firms.

The chief countries of origin, with imports and their average total value for the last eight years, are these :—

New Zealand (£67,543) : Tinned meat, drapery, sugar (Fiji sugar refined in New Zealand), butter, furniture, timber, spades, rope, shoes, soap, carts.

Australia (£51,286) : Drapery, flour, biscuits, harness, shoes, furniture, galvanized iron, bacon, jam.

Great Britain (£28,657) : Hardware (tools, knives, etc.), machinery, galvanized iron, cement, motor cars, drapery, bags, matches, bicycles.

United States of America (£13,946) : Benzine, kerosene, timber, motor cars, axes, salmon, typewriters, salt, torches, musical instruments, rifles, cameras, lamps, sewing machines.

Japan (£2,452) : Silk, matches, toys.

Fiji : Sugar, biscuits.

Canada : Motor cars, salmon.

Germany : Pianos, lamps, toys, watches.

France : Perfumes, soap, sardines.

Sweden : Matches, enamel ware.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Although the first steamer to cross the Pacific, the American ship "Monumental City," actually called at Togatabu, and it was hoped that at least Vava'u harbour might be included in the regular trans-oceanic route, the subsequent development of Fiji has acted to Tonga's detriment, and to-day Tonga is in the backwater of steamer-communication. Until the early months of 1932 a passenger steamer of the Union S. S. Co. of New Zealand sailed monthly from Auckland to Fiji, and called at the three Tongan ports and Apia, Samoa, before returning to Suva and Auckland. Owing to trade-depression these sailings have ceased, and at present Tonga is served only by a monthly fruit-steamer and cargo-boat. Because of the danger of the rhinoceros beetle entering from Samoa, direct communication from that group was forbidden until this year (1932). 648 505 [136]

Occasionally, other steamers (chiefly British, Norwegian and American) call to load copra and to discharge cargoes of timber, benzine, kerosene, etc. [439]

Inter-island communication is provided by the Government motor-vessel "Hifofua" and by numerous cutters. The distance from Nuku-'alofa to Lifuka is 99 miles, and to Vava'u 169 miles : from Vava'u to Niua Fo'ou is 211 miles, and to Niua Tobutabu 167 miles. 505 [655]

434 Table 22. Continued.

438

Table cloth	1	Fertilizer	1

439 The fungus, Auricularia polytricha, which is exported
137 to Hong Kong, is classified as an agricultural product by
824 the Tongan Government, and although most of it comes from the island of 'Eua, some is still found during rainy periods on dead logs in forested areas of bush allotments on Tongatapu.

439 At present there is a concerted effort being made by
179 the Agricultural Department and the Tonga Commodity Boards
652 to diversify and increase agricultural exports in order to
179 stabilize the economy. These efforts have increased
241 production of garden vegetables, pineapples, watermelons,
439 root crops, and, more recently, vanilla. Nevertheless,
245 the major export crops continue to be coconuts and bananas.

Unfortunately, the market for copra is highly unstable, and both crops are susceptible to disease, pests, hurricanes, [505] and periodic droughts. In the case of bananas, exports depend on unreliable shipping services to New Zealand. Nevertheless, coconuts and bananas are still the major commercial crops found on the traditional bush allotment. Consequently it is important to have some background on the production of these crops.

Copra and Other Coconut Products

Prior to World War II independent traders throughout

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

100: Koch--346 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/230 cont./

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"kalia" (see Th. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians /cited in English/. Third ed... London 1870. p. 64; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 121). A description of "kalia," for example in Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English./ pp. 49/50.

which in construction and speed once aroused the admiration of the great European seafarers, and with which the natives set out for distant destinations, such as Samoa, Fiji, Niue, Futuna, Uvea, Totuma and even some of the Ellice and Gilbert Islands. (605)

605. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 14/15, 205.

505 The Tongans who wish to travel to Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand or Australia for visits or for educational purposes use the New Zealand steamer which makes an approximately monthly round trip: Auckland--/231/ Suva--Nuku'alofa--Neiafu--Apia--Suva--Auckland. (606)

606. With occasional stops at Niue. The old hopes that Tonga would become a point of intersection of trans-Pacific routes were not fulfilled because of the development of the Fiji colony. Thus the Archipelago still lies at the edge of world traffic. Except for the "monthly steamer" from New Zealand, freighters only occasionally stop at Nuku'alofa or Vava'u to deliver goods or take on copra. An airfield built a few years ago on Tongatapu provided passenger service only from January 1, 1950 to July 2, 1951; then the New Zealand company discontinued this line's service which was apparently uprofitable. However, there are plans for a resumption and expansion of air connections (with Fiji, New Zealand and West Samoa).

[508]

For journeys from Tongatapu and Vava'u the natives like to use the monthly steamer. For the rest, traffic within the Archipelago is served by the auxiliary ketch "Hifofua" of the government, the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu" of the Copra Board, (607)

[501]

/231 cont./

505

607. Both are sailboats with auxiliary motors and a displacement of approximately 80 to 100 tons.

[501] the motor boats and sailboats (with auxiliary motors) of the churches and especially all the sailboats (cutters, sloops) owned by Tongans and today stationed on almost all inhabited islands of the Archipelago. (608)

608. In 1952, for example, six such sailboats belonged to the village of Nomuka (567 inhabitants, ten to the village of 'Uiha (647 inhabitaznts) and two (along with two motor boats) to the village of Fungamisi (263 inhabitants). The price of such a sailboat depends on its size and the circumstances of its acquisition. Today it may cost up to 800 £ T. (about 7320 German marks).

[435]

[396] [177] [422] [471] These sailboats built entirely after European models are built by Whites or half-castes, sometimes also by Tongans themselves with imported material. They are the property of one person or of several who formed a sort of cooperative. For a fixed fare, paid in Tongan currency, the generally altogether overloaded vessels transport human beings and cargo; people travel on them to visit relatives or go shopping, students travel on them to their colleges at the beginning and end of vacation, copra is shipped on these sailboats to the receiving stations of the Copra Board, and the supply of goods from the commercial centers of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai to the small and smallest islands is made possible only by this traffic; natives also set out to fish in the high seas (deep sea angling) in cutters and sloops.

[501] In such boats, which are approximately between 4 and 15 tons, the natives often sail a hundred and more sea miles on the open sea, and there are seldom accidents even during stormy night journeys. The Tongans(609)

505 502 181 /231 cont./ The Tongans (609)

609. That is to say, the crews of these boats, who devote themselves primarily to sea-faring and often have little to do with the boat's construction.

are still very capable seamen. Even though they no longer have the old, admirable ability to take their bearings from the stars, the wind and the waves, but use the compass on all sailboats, they are still endowed with a sure, instinctive feeling for finding their way on the sea, since their old compasses, which are scarcely ever adjusted /232/ often have such variations that their usefulness is questionable. No Tongan on these boats owns a sextant or a log to determine position and distances covered, and sea charts are rare. Nonetheless, the boats daily operating within the Archipelago reach their destination, and it seldom happens that such a sailboat is driven off course or is lost.

505 502

505 484 Here follows a report on a typical journey of this sort within the Archipelago:

On December 2, 1951 the sailboat "Leiola" coming from the island of Mango arrives in Nomuka where seven passengers with their luggage go on board. The "Leiola" leaves Nomuka around 17 o'clock and shortly thereafter drops anchor at Nomuka Iki where freight for Crown Prince Tungi is taken on board: a quantity of kape and taro, a pig, a goat and ten bags of copra. With this load, along with the seven passengers and the five-man crew the approximately nine-ton boat is so overloaded that it has scarcely two handspans of freeboard. It sets out for Tongatapu which is about 60 sea miles distant. During the first hour, hymns are sung and a prayer is said. In the foreship, as on most of these boats, there stands an old drum serving as stove where bananas and taro are cooked. With this meal drinking water is handed out from a can specially carried for this purpose. Then the

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)
484
(554)

610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch
505 the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the
502 wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs
484 are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the
505 course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service
484 is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then
(302) get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil
(515) their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505 While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance
501 traffic" wihtin the Archipelago, (611)

611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of
501 short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the
178 only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the
/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

/233 cont./

501 small sail (made of European cloth, seldom a mat) for which they put up a small mast. They use the popao to cover the distance between 501 islands lying close together, (615) 505

615. They seldom use the popao for greater distances, as did a Nomukan, for instance, who, in 1951, traveled 14 sea miles with it across the open sea.

for various methods of fishing (see above) and, on account of their slight draft, to board and leave the small sailboats lying at anchor, as well as to load and unload the latter.

396 824 The natives like to make the hull of the popao from the trunk of the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), but they also use the mango (Mangifera indica L.), the tavahi (Rhus taitensis Guillemin), the toi (Alphitonia zizyphoides [Spreng.] A Gray), the mohe-mohe and, if possible, the tamanu. Men who have particular experience in boat-building, but also those who are doing this work for the first time in their lives, cut the hull of the boat, which is about three to five meters long, out of /234/ one piece of trunk. They also like to [438] "export" roughly hewn hulls from islands were the aforementioned types [435] of wood occur in greater abundance to islands that are poor in them; on Nomuka, for instance, they pay 10 £T. (breadfruit tree wood) to 15 £T. (tamanu wood) for such an unfinished boat imported from 'Eua.

396 [465] The owner of the boat-to-be may do the work himself, or a man experienced in boat-building who is provisioned or remunerated (who may receive, for examply, 2 £T. or a horse) does the work. Often the [496] men work in twos or threes, with relatives (for example, son, father, son-in-law, father-in-law, cousin), friends or other villagers helping. [462] Boat-building is purely men's work.

396 412 To hollow out the dugout, which has been roughly hewn with axes and transverse hatchets, they use especially the small transverse hatchet toki unga ko (with the gouge blade, see p. 200-202). They also

489 /236 cont./
177 distances and poor, unpaved roads, the optimum seems to have been
178 reached at this time.

505 With regard to sea traffic, it is noteworthy that the seafaring
178 Tongans doubtless still possess the nautical sense of their renown
177 ancestors, but in comparison with the past, in general, a certain estrangement from the sea can be seen. Since they depend on the monthly steamer for transportation outside Tonga (and in part also within Tonga), and since, for transportation between the islands of the Archipelago, they use sailboats whose building material (626)

626. The wood for building these boats must also be imported, since the natives lumber does not seem resistant enough.

must be imported, they have become dependent on Europeans in their
501 traffic on the high seas. Of the ancient Tongan type of boats--with
505 the exception of the now very rare tafa'anga--the simplest type of out-
178 rigger, the popao, has alone been preserved and is used on short trips for various purposes rather frequently.

489 There is no noticeable difference between nobles and commoners
565 with respect to means of transportation. Not origin, but economic
184 potential is decisive for the acquisition of land- and seacraft. (627)

627. In addition, there is borrowing without direct return service (see p. 136-137.

501 In accordance with the social structure of ancient Tonga, the
422 catamarans of those days were solely in possession of the nobility.
565 Today the /237/ sailboats that have replaced the catamarans belong
178 largely to commoners, and money plays a part in the traffic of these cutters and sloops which transport almost all passengers and goods for money.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1 '78 OU9 Tonga OU9

245 retards the growth and development of the plant, and terminates fruit production.

[136] Banana scab moth, most destructive during its larval stage, may cause damage ranging from simple fruit discoloration to total [242] destruction (Plate 4, p. 74). DDT, which is frequently used to combat scab moth, has been ineffective in annihilating the pest.

241 The combined effect of these three diseases have reduced 245 internationally marketable banana production by nearly 1.5 million [433] dollars, representing approximately 30 percent of total agricultural [439] export production since 1967. Farmers are increasingly hesitant to initiate large scale banana production, unless guaranteed assistance in combating disease and plant destruction.

245 Survey interviews also attributed decreasing banana produc- 505 tion to inadequate shipping facilities. Frequently, harvested bananas are placed on a dock to await the arrival of transport 245 vessels destined for overseas markets. During this time, the fruit 439 becomes over-ripe, falling below export quality. As a consequence, [435] fruit originally priced up to $1.90 per case may be sold for as little as 40 cents. Because of this potential low cash return, 245 many interviewed farmers stated that large scale banana production was an unwise economic risk.

244 Commercial production of melons, especially watermelons, is also hindered by the inadequate scheduling of transport facilities to [505] overseas markets. Melons are also produced for Tongan markets, but [438] frequently earn only low prices, even when out of season.
[435] A [Because of poor quality of original reproductions, plates have not been marked for a Category-- Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fishing activity is often not considered part of the agricultural sector of an economy. However, in Tonga fishing represents a significant cash input to the local agricultural base. Of the total survey sample, over 15 percent of those questioned indicated that they derived some part of the household cash income from fishing. The Tongan government obviously considers fishing to be of significant value to the national economy, in that it includes evaluations of fishing catch and sale within the annual reports, and operates one major fishing vessel, the Ekiaki. This ship is of modern construction and contains some refrigeration and pre-processing facilities. In 1973, the Ekiaki landed a total of 203,243 pounds of fish, representing a catch percentage (catch per 100 hooks) slightly better than Korean and Chinese operations in the region. This total catch was smaller than anticipated, due to mechanical breakdowns and the lack of trained operation personnel.

Tongan waters are a largely untapped source of food, including such fish species as tuna, bill-fish, and shark (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 30). In 1973, sale of fish through the Vuna market equaled over $15,000, or 120,000 pounds. However, demand for fish in Nuku'alofa far excelled this amount. Personal observations evidenced that on those days when fish is to be sold, crowds of consumers wait hours before the market opens.

Despite the fact that domestic demand for fish is unsaturated, 40 percent of the Ekiaki's total catch, for the year 1973, was

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main yard!" As this had been already done some short time before to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing. He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

A [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach. Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives alongside the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us.

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his principal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it, the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body, coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to commence. We entered the apartment at the side, and took our places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round,

* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythesticum), and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the ceremony.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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now rose, one at a time, and went to him with small cups of green banana leaf, which he filled with a dipper made by rolling up some bark lightly into a rounded point. When the cup was filled, the chief who received it turned round, and, advancing to the centre, fronted the king, holding it with both hands about breast high. A man stationed behind the kava-maker then called out "Kava-kua-heeka!" The kava having been lifted up, the king's spokesman proclaimed in the same tone to whom it should be given, frequently using some sobriquet to point out the person intended —as "atu ia kia Taaga!"—give it to the singer—give it to the laugher—give it to the dancer, and so on, but all in the most serious manner imaginable. It was then handed to the person indicated, who drank it off and threw the cup away.

After the kava had been all served out, the chiefs that sat outside the house rose and went off without any further ceremony—the people carrying away their portions of pork, yams, &c.; and this being all that was to be seen then, we made our bow and took our departure, leaving the king to discuss state matters with his ministers, who remained sitting with him in the shed as we had found them. We afterwards called upon the queen, but were informed that she was rather unwell after her passage from Haabai; the young prince, George Vuna, however, was sent out to receive us. He was a fine intelligent little fellow, about eight years of age, with large expressive brown eyes, his head being shaved quite smooth, excepting a lock over each temple. Four or five boys of his own age, his attendants and companions, came out with him. Having indulged their curiosity by allowing them to take a good stare at us, one of the party presented the prince with a waistcoat which reached half way down to his ankles; another gave him a large silk handkerchief of a blue-and-white bird's-eye pattern, which was tied round his neck in a sailor's knot. We then left him, highly delighted with his new dress, his half-dozen naked attendants shouting and dancing round him.

From the palace I went with some others to see if we could collect any curiosities among the houses, and while we were squatted down in one of them, bartering for some tappa, the great town-drum began to beat, and immediately afterwards a native came running in to tell us that the remainder of the royal fleet from Vavau and Haabai were coming in, bringing the Tamahá, a person of the highest rank in Tonga. This news quickly brought us to our legs, and we hurried off with the rest.

The day was brilliantly fine, and natives from all quarters were collecting upon the hill, watching the approach of the royal fleet of large double canoes, as it came up before the fresh sea-breeze, the canoes spreading all over the bay, some far off on the distant horizon, others nearer, threading their way between the little

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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islets round the anchorage. Closer at hand, some of the largest and fastest sailers, their decks thronged with people, were crowding upon one another like yachts in a regatta, their large angular sails at times nearly touching the Meander's jib-boom end, as they came sweeping across her bows, ploughing the sea up with their sharp stems, and leaving broad tracks of shining white foam behind. They were ornamented with long swallow-tailed streamers of different colours, the foot or lower part of some of the largest sails being fringed with an edging of small flags placed close together. Many had rows of large white cowries fastened on to their bows, and carried black crescent-shaped ornaments at their mast-heads. One canoe had a large black ball painted on the centre of its sail. They came tearing along right up to the edge of the reef, and, when it seemed as though another instant must take them up high and dry on to the coral, would shoot up in the wind's eye and shorten sail; prolonged shouts from the people in the canoes already anchored greeting every fresh arrival. A fleet of smaller canoes surrounded the Meander as she lay broadside on to the shore. Below the hill on the left, shaded by a sombre looking group of casuarinas, was the tomb of Josiah, the last King of Tonga, and near the spot where we stood, two small trees of the same kind, planted by his sons, marked the site of his palace.*

Having seen the last canoe arrive, we walked down the hill to go on board. At the beach all was stir and bustle, small canoes bringing the people on shore from the larger ones, which lay anchored in the deep water at the edge of the reef. Some of the canoes were loaded with enormously fat old women, and were being pushed across the reef by men wading alongside, who helped the old ladies out at the landing-place and set them on their legs with great care, when they waddled up the beach like so many turtle. Wishing to engage one of these canoes to take us off to the ship, we made the men understand that if they would come with us we would pay them for their trouble when they got on board; upon which they ran up after the old ladies to ask their permission, which, however, was most unceremoniously refused. One of the most re-

* Casuarina equisetifolia. Pickering, in his 'Races of Men,' mentions this tree as having been introduced into Polynesia; and remarks that it has probably been brought from the westward. My attention was particularly arrested by the use of it at Tongatabu as the emblem of mourning, from having noticed that the natives of Twofold Bay, on the S.-eastern coast of Australia, select spots shaded by it for the interment of their dead. In the only instance where this was not done, I remarked that branches of it were brought from some distance and laid upon the newly-made grave. At Tahiti the grave of King Pomare (father of the present Queen) stands in a grove of them. It grows generally by the sea-shore, where the wind, passing through its fine hair-like leaves, produces a mournful sighing sound, which, with its sombre tint, adapts it peculiarly to the same purposes as the cypress and trees used in other countries for planting near tombs.

[171]